

## MODERN LIVING

## Maritime museum to be opened in Bremerhaven

Hamburger Abendblatt

Bremerhaven is planning a maritime museum to house the famous collection of Dr. Hans Willy Bernatz in Cologne. Work will begin shortly on the building.

The specialised character of the new museum will enhance its attraction beyond Bremerhaven. It is expected to cost seven million Marks.

A site of 65,000 square feet has been chosen near the city centre, on the banks of the Weser, under the pylons of the new TV tower. Nearby is the Old Harbour which is also being turned into an open-air museum, according to Bremerhaven's Mayor, Alfons Tallert.

Here the three-masted, *Seula Deern*, and the former Hamburg lightship, *Elbe 3*, have found permanent anchorage. These

two vessels are to be joined by a third exhibit, the whaler, *Walter Rau IX*, built in Bremerhaven in 1935 and afterwards sold to Norway. It is at present lying at anchor in one of the harbours of the Frisian Islands.

Other fishing vessels will probably be added to the museum in the years ahead, including perhaps the 1940-built submarine now moored in Kiel which the navy have offered Bremerhaven as a gift.

Dr Bernatz is willing to transfer a large part of his famous collection to the Bremerhaven museum whenever adequate facilities have been provided. The collection includes a carefully chosen selection of paintings and models of various kinds of ships in the past.

At a later date the Historical Marine Institute, founded by Dr Bernatz in Cologne, is to be removed to Bremerhaven. A major factor involved in Dr Bernatz's request is the erection of an historical maritime research centre which

would be linked to Bremen's future university.

Dr Bernatz's collection features many foreign models, which makes it especially interesting for connoisseurs. Dr Bernatz has willed that on his death the entire collection should be handed over to the city of Bremerhaven as a permanent bequest.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 11 January 1969)

'Seula Deern', a three-masted schooner, once a training ship, has now weighed anchor for the last time of the open-air maritime museum at Bremerhaven

(Photo: Engler)



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(Photo: AP)

## Berlin Zoo takes count of its creature population

Counting heads in West Berlin's Zoo has been completed. At the end of 1968 the zoo was housing 1,040 mammals of 730 species and 2,735 birds of 730 species.

Birds and animals together are worth 2,127,535 Marks. The aquarium holds 10,000 fish, amphibians, reptiles and invertebrates, comprising 1,400 species. Zoo and aquarium together house 14,000 creatures of more than 2,350 different species. This is Europe's largest family of fur, feather and fin.

Among the (in many ways not one) prominent offspring of the Zoo are the two giraffes who were born in July and August and have since grown to a height of nearly eight feet. Other breeding achievements are two antelopes, a baringh deer, two orang utangs and a seal. It might seem easy to breed a seal, but this is not so.

Among the oxen thirteen calves were born. The elags produced 28 little ones,

## DER TAGESSPIEGEL

UNABHÄNGIGE BEWERTUNG MODERNISIERUNG

Ula antelopes fourteen, the monkey's seventeen and the zebras six.

The zoo is especially proud of two musk oxen, still in quarantine, two maned wolves, a female gorilla, two polar bears, five young black bears, three Malayan bears, a Persian leopard, three red buffaloes and a Darwin Rhea. Some of these animals were presented to the West Berlin Zoo, some were bought.

Accommodation for more animals is either planned or under construction. Extensions are being carried out to the bear enclosure and the wolf and hyena runs. Six new crane pens are planned and also facilities for prairie animals, especially for antelopes.

(DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 16 January 1969)

## Spaniard for mayor

From among 16 possible candidates for the post of mayor of Dörmigheim, in the district of Henau, a Spaniard from Bilbao has been elected for the job.

He has already had experience in administration and speaks German and French with great fluency.

If he had not been chosen for the position of mayor in the town which has 15,000 inhabitants, he would have been offered another position in the local administration.

(DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 23 January 1969)

## Tall greenhouse

The second largest greenhouse in the world is 130 feet high. It was opened recently in Krefeld. This modern conservatory is equipped with an automatic ray device that replaces the sun. A constant temperature is maintained for the 88,000 plants.

## The German Tribune

Hamburg, 11 February 1969  
Eighty Year - No. 357 - By Air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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## Communist China's isolation diminishes visibly

Süddeutsche Zeitung  
JAHRESGESAMT 1968: 100.000

Great are the days when communist China, the most populous country in the world, was treated as a leper. For years even NATO countries such as Great Britain and France have had diplomatically representation in Peking and others have recently decided to follow suit. Italy and Canada, for instance, Belgium is considering doing the same while Japan, on the other hand, has recently again rejected the idea of formal ties with its Asian neighbor.

The Japanese government is engaged in negotiations with the United States on the legal status of Okinawa, still occupied by America, and meeting China half-way would not make these talks any easier. Yet there is not only an increasing number

land China strictly refuses to establish diplomatic relations with countries that also have ties with Formosa. Peking will have no truck with the idea of two Chinas. It would not sit alongside Formosa in the UN either. Communist China would only condescend to replace Formosa at the United Nations but President Nixon could not afford to surrender Formosa in addition to withdrawing from Vietnam.

The President has nevertheless left himself a loophole for new directions in policy towards China in postponing Peking's invitation to resume the Warsaw talks between the ambassadors of the two countries and expressing frank interest in the possibility of finding out differences of opinion.

The Paris Vietnam talks, which, it is hoped, will lead to peace in the hottest sector in the Far East are not likely to lead to tangible results in the immediate future. It just performance is anything to go for, but the fact that you found it hard to get the parties concerned are now represented is an indication that the two sides have realised that purely military solutions are impossible.

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ber of countries with official representation in Peking in the United Nations for virtually every new member is a supporter of Communist Chinese membership of the world body.

Nonetheless President Nixon in his first press conference came out against admission of the People's Republic to the UN. But that this stand came as a surprise. As President Nixon proposes to scale down America's commitments in Vietnam he can hardly justify lack, stock and barrel his predecessors' policies towards Asia without causing havoc to the United States' position in the Pacific.

America remains allied to Chiang Kai-shek and his Formosa regime while main-

Whether or not President Nixon's advisers adhere to progress by means of gradual tactics is another matter. Their counterparts have so far been at the opinion that step by step progress is no progress at all as far as their country is concerned.

But the new administration in Washington has more in mind than waiting for progress to be made in Paris. Other factors must be taken into account before an attempt is made to resolve ties with Peking. Talks with Moscow, about aims

## Diplomatic circles within circles

Encircling the apartment has always been part of the diplomatic stock in trade. From Vienna and Madrid the Habsburgs encircled the French, France encircled Austria with the aid of Turkey and Prussia, Britain and Russia encircled Wilhelmian Germany.

The idea of this country and communist China encircling the Soviet Union must be troubling for old-style diplomats. It would be even more troubling if it were true that Mao is advising Europe, including France and this country, to unite and encircle both Russia and America.

Speculation about the prospect of contacts between Bonn and Peking should disregard these diplomatic pipe dreams. Egon Bahr, Foreign Minister Willy Brandt's specialist in secret diplomacy, will without doubt not be probing in Tokyo and elsewhere the prospect of encircling the Soviet Union with the aid of Chairman Mao.

If this is Red China's idea in normalising relations with this country, then it



## Down on the farm!

The 33rd Berlin Agricultural Show (Güne Woche) was opened on 31 January by the Minister of Agriculture, Hermann Höcherl. There are 1,527 exhibitors from this country and abroad, an increase of 10 per cent over last year. The Federal President, Heinrich Lübke, second from the left, is seen inspecting fruit from Morocco. Beside him stands his wife.

(Photo: AP)

only in particular, are also part of President Nixon's programme. Negotiations with the Kremlin are not, on the other hand, likely to be the new administration's first diplomatic venture. The President naturally intends to try

helped to improve cooperation within the Western alliance, since a measure of unity in the West is a sine qua non for successful talks with Moscow.

Yet Mr Nixon must be interested in finding out differences with the Soviet Union, if only for financial reasons. A fresh arms race would hinder America's economic development and bring the Soviet Union's economic plans to a grinding halt too.

Were Washington to go a long way towards coming to terms with Peking, Moscow could hardly fail to grow suspicious. The Kremlin prefers to make minor concessions to its communist competitor itself — and recently did so in respect of nuclear know-how. It would be useful for President Nixon to have two irons in the communist fire but he cannot juggle with both at the same time.

Preparing a more flexible policy towards China is easier for other Western governments, and not only for Canada, Italy and Belgium. It could also prove profitable for Bonn. Washington is hardly likely to begrudge this country what it has accepted in the case of others.

An exchange of ambassadors between Bonn and Peking is not on the cards at the moment, since this country is not a member of the UN and can hardly develop a role of its own in world affairs. But the large increase in trade with mainland China might well justify an exchange of permanent trade missions.

Immanuel Birnkaua

(Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 February 1969)

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 3 February 1969)



## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## Going it alone on the non-proliferation treaty poses problems

Hopes placed in President Nixon have proved deceptive, reliance on General de Gaulle's support misguided. In Washington the President has expressed the wish that the Senate ratify the non-proliferation treaty promptly and in Paris the General is using the battered European Atomic Energy Community, Euratom, to force Bonn to take a step it categorically rejects and sign the treaty.

In the circumstances the Social Democrats are right to talk in terms of this country being in danger of isolation. Credible and politically relevant support for Bonn in continuing to refuse to sign can be expected neither from the sole fellow-member of Nato that is still hesitating on the brink, Portugal, nor from India or Brazil, both of which are likely to persist in their rejection of the treaty for specific motives of their own.

Evan so, Christian Social Union leader and Federal Finance Minister Franz Josef Strauss continues in his public statements to make point after point against signature by this country. Scientific Research Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg continues to underscore the technical uncertainties and economic disadvantages and Christian Democratic parliamentary party leader Rainer Orszel, who in the past has taken great care to avoid committing himself, noted in a speech made in Münster: "I am unable to recommend that this country sign as long as the Soviet Union threatens us with intervention."

The electorate must gradually be gaining the impression that the Christian Democratic and Christian Social Unions have been alone in recognizing the danger and are not prepared to allow the country to make the fatal mistake of signing the non-proliferation treaty. The two parties are evidently not alarmed at the prospect of what the electorate is going to think in a few months' time when the treaty is signed after all.

Even disregarding the domestic policy aspect (though it should not be underestimated), doubts remain as to the expediency of foreign policy tactics. There is hardly a single politician in the country who sees the non-proliferation treaty as wholly satisfactory, yet most agree that Bonn will have to sign in the long run. The question is: can anything be gained by waiting?

Many improvements were made during drafting. Changes in the text of the treaty are no longer possible. A unilateral preamble is conceivable but would, in any case, be a matter for debate during passage of the ratification instrument, which will be dealt with by the Bundestag to be elected this autumn.

## The confused Balkan chessboard

The threat to Rumania's sovereignty is on the increase and the country's politicians have been unable to lay the groundwork for some means of dispelling the danger. So far Moscow has refused to budge from the great power policies reflected in the doctrine of the limited sovereignty of socialist countries.

Rumanian politicians claim to support fully the policies of the Eastern bloc. The Kremlin is now demanding proof of this solidarity, pressing for joint manoeuvres in Rumania and the Ukraine and insisting on unanimous agreement that Comecon be converted into a supra-national community. Fulfillment of Moscow's wishes could spell the end of both Rumania's sovereignty and that of the other socialist countries.

Unless all indications are deceptive there is only one lever left by which this

development can be hindered: the international conference of Communist Parties scheduled to be held in Moscow this May. The conference can only be a success from the viewpoint of the CPSU if the Soviet leadership refrains from any moves that have the appearance of mere great power politics.

President Tito and First Secretary Ceausescu have agreed to urge other Communist Parties to adopt this line too. Whether or not this joint activity on the part of Bucharest and Belgrade will bear fruit depends on what Moscow considers more important: military and economic integration of the Eastern Bloc or the success of the international communist conference.

(DIE WELT, 3 February 1969)



All that remains is the possibility of interpretation, assurances by both Washington and Moscow, for instance, that the Federal Republic of Germany is entitled to the same rights as other countries in peaceful exploitation of atomic energy, and the prospect of compensation.

Chancellor Kiesinger appears to have decided on what he is pleased to call the Soviet Union's arrogant claim to a right to intervene in this country as a suitable object for barter. There is more in this than meets the eye.

First, the Federal government is still clinging renewed importance to a topic that the West has regarded as over and done with since the Allied declarations of last summer. Second, there is not the slightest hope of amending the UN Charter, on Articles 53 and 107 of which the Kremlin bases its claims. Third, Dr Kiesinger is thus unintentionally attaching an importance to the Soviet claims that can only be to Moscow's liking.

The Kremlin's claim to a right to intervene in this country on the basis of the enemy-state articles in the UN Charter is not, of course, unimportant in the strictly legal sense, particularly in conjunction with the Potsdam Agreement, but the Soviet Union's prospects of ever

asserting its claims in practice are negligible.

There could hardly have been any objection to negotiations on this topic with the new administration in Washington if they had not been accompanied by wordy public statements. As it is, President Nixon is likely to advise Bonn to let the matter drop and Bonn will then have no option but to allow its negotiating position to sink into oblivion.

More attention should probably be paid to the French tactics of not agreeing to preliminary negotiations between the Vienna International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and Euratom until Bonn has signed the non-proliferation treaty as well as Benelux and Italy. General de Gaulle's pressure on the Federal government not only accords with his policy towards the East; it also makes it seem more than likely that he has more far-reaching plans.

At the very least the General might propose to quit Euratom in order to escape European nuclear controls, but he might also intend to break up Euratom altogether, which after Bonn's signature of the non-proliferation treaty would make this country subject to inspection by the IAEA. That is precisely what Bonn has always wanted to avoid.

If the non-proliferation treaty assumes the dramatic proportions that some observers see as latent in it the guilt should not be laid entirely at the doors of others.

Hans Reiser  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 30 January 1969)

## Barbarism in Baghdad

The public execution of fourteen people in Iraq before an audience of 200,000 people was an act of barbarism that could not fail to horrify the civilised world. It has made disconcerted Westerners realise that in the East there is scant difference between medieval floggings and progressive dictators as far as mentality and methods of justice are concerned.

In all probability, too, the executions were little more than straight murder. The accusations of espionage for Israel seem a little far-fetched. The indications are that the fourteen people hanged, particularly the nine Jews among them, were the victims of a desperate struggle to retain power by the ruling clique of the Iraqi Baathists.

The clique seized power last summer. Their leader, General al Bakr, originally intended to steer a moderate course but opposition from all sides soon shook the new rulers. The bourgeoisie, the moderate Baathists, the Socialists, the Communists and the Kurds all seemed to be preparing for revolt.

The ruling clique sought a way out of this dilemma by striking out against moderates and turning towards left-wing extremists—left Baathists and Communists. At the end of last year ex-Premier Baziz, a man with a considerable reputation at home, was placed under arrest together with other moderate politicians.

Night-time murders and arrests have since followed in swift succession. In order to gain the support of the masses the regime accused the detainees of espionage for Israel, even though they had all pursued markedly anti-Israeli policies whilst in office.

The Jews have obviously been arrested and executed in order to make the accusations seem more plausible and to prime the atmosphere for the planned show trials of Baziz & Co. There is a decided risk that the extremist Baath group might continue along the path they have chosen to follow and feed public hysteria by killing a few more Jews.

An estimated 2,000 to 3,000 Jews still live in Iraq. Their lives are in danger and the governments of the West ought to summon up the rest of their influence in the Arab world to prevent more bloodshed. The executions in Baghdad ought also to provide food for thought for people in the West who persistently propose that the Israeli people should once more be made dependent on the good will and readiness to coexist of the Arab world.

(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 29 January 1969)

## The razor-edge stroll of the Grand Coalition partners

Sooner than expected the Bonn Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats seems to have come up against an issue that may straddle it to breaking point. Christian Democratic parliamentary party leader Rainer Barzel has lately rejected the non-proliferation treaty, in so doing he has come out against one of the major components of Social Democrat Willy Brandt's foreign policy.

This and the announcement made in no uncertain terms by Chancellor Kiesinger that he intends to take a stronger line with both Defence Minister Schröder and Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Brandt holds out the prospect of serious trouble between the two parties in the coalition.

Will the Federal government end by saying no as a whole to the non-proliferation treaty?

It has always been said in Bonn that a decision could not be made until it was clear whether or not the new American administration intended to pursue a policy of coming to terms with the Soviet Union. President Nixon has approved this policy in principle but not been specific about details.

But it has always been agreed—and still is—that whatever misgivings may be felt by smaller countries about the non-proliferation treaty agreed between the two major powers the treaty could be a means of bringing the arms race to a halt. At present no other means is in sight.

This view seems to be widely shared by other members of Nato. Now that Italy and Turkey have signed this country has only France and Portugal for company.

In the speech in which he made his position clear Dr Barzel stated that this country's position was not compatible with that of others. True enough. The Federal Republic needs friends. But if it, and it is all countries, champion the misgivings that have not prevented others from signing treaties might one day well become enemies.

(Kölnische Stadt-Anzeiger, 29 January 1969)

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## HOME AFFAIRS

## Preventive detention bill presents critical constitutional questions

Social Democrats have done a service. So extra-parliamentary opposition. By thinking up the idea of preventive detention they have provided critics of society in this country with a subject for complaint, which they have been seeking in vain since the discussion on Emergency Legislation.

While left-wing revolutionaries decided that the bill had fascist implications, the real protectors of law and order complained that it did not go far enough. Admittedly, criticism did not only come from the extremists. Minister of Justice Gustav Heinemann said in the Bundestag debate that he had doubts as to whether this bill, drafted by his own political party, was compatible with a liberal constitutional state.

Two things persuaded the Social Democrats to press for legislation. Firstly, the vague suggestion that a group of habitual criminals had benefited from the reform of judicial proceedings in 1964. Previously, if criminals were apprehended after committing an offence which they were likely to repeat, they were automatically taken into custody. Now they are generally released, so claim the supporters of the bill, and often use the time until their case comes before the courts to commit another series of crimes.

The second reason for the Social Democrat initiative was the growing call from the general public for more security, more protection against crime. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) did not want to leave this issue, which would attract voters, entirely up to the Christian Democratic and Christian Social Unions (CDU/CSU).

On the other hand, however, the SPD did not want to exploit the wave of popular opinion unthinkingly. The result



is that the bill represents an uncomfortable middle way. A person can be arrested for having committed certain crimes, if there is a danger of the offence being repeated.

The Bill should be rejected for three reasons:

Firstly, it is not in keeping with the fundamental principles of a constitutional state. It turns judges into policemen, and introduces punishment on suspicion, that is punishment without first establishing guilt through a court of law, and it limits the scope of the protection of liberty.

Secondly, the disregard shown towards these principles is justified by claiming that the security of the liberal constitu-

tional state is just as important for the citizen as the protection of liberty. Even if one accepts this argument, it remains doubtful whether the citizen's security would really be strengthened through this Bill.

At any rate, so far no criminal statistics have been produced which justify this assumption. And no reliable investigations have been carried out on the deterrent effect of threatened custody.

Moreover, if the security of the citizen is the main consideration, then this could probably be achieved by other means. For example, repeated crimes committed after the initial apprehension could be subject to harsher punishment.

And the bill does not exclude the danger that people who are not habitual criminals, perhaps people who are innocent, might be arrested. This fear applies even more to the more extreme bill drawn up by some CSU members. The SPD seems

## Student revolt bound to get nowhere

Composure is no longer in evidence. Events at this country's universities are escalating into an academic civil war. The arguments are becoming more and more "laughable."

The left-wing radicals are already using Molotov cocktails, hydrochloric acid, stones and knives; soon they may have guns as well like the protesting students at Latin American universities. Che

Guevara, their revered hero, is enjoying posthumous fame.

Now no one can doubt that the Socialist Students' League (SDS) and its sympathisers want to cripple universities in this country and bring about a revolution in the Federal Republic. The pool of Alma Mater is threatened by guerrilla attacks.

Pressure gives rise to counter-pressure. Governments, state assemblies, the judiciary and the police are discussing and trying out means of resisting the revolt. To a large extent the general public is still remarkably indifferent to these events - with the exception of West Berlin where people have now started to react, particularly strongly to red flags and talk about a proletarian dictatorship.

Edwards in other countries demonstrate that student unrest in the Federal Republic is part of a similar international trend. Japan, for instance, heads the list of student excesses. Recently thousands of policemen occupied the university compound in Tokyo. Now, this country is well on the way to imitating such records.

## Interior Minister Benda reproves radical extremists

Minister of the Interior Ernst Benda has threatened all young radicals and students, who are attacking the democratic order, with the coercive powers of government. Through the Ministry of the Interior's information service, Benda said that for five hundred years the state had had a monopoly on the use of force in this country.

Neither physical strength nor superior power determined what was right, but the laws which apply equally to all citizens. If other means were to no avail, then government bodies would have to resort to coercion, because otherwise it would be equally wrong to conclude that only young people appreciate absolute truths because of their youthful commitment.

Our hope remains that today's young people will not be exposed to totalitarian oppression in their later lives or, at least, that they will be able to resist it more effectively.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 January 1969)

prepared to eliminate this danger by utilizing and doling out more precisely the categories of crimes to which the bill would apply.

Thirdly, the Bill has appeared in a strange political landscape. During the same session when preventive custody was discussed the CDU introduced a bill which would impose stricter penalties for contempt of court; this initiative was taken because of the unseemly behaviour of some students in court.

And just recently there has been some discussion as to whether students who have committed offences should have their scholarships taken away. As the election approaches, the cries for law and order seem to be becoming louder. If competition between the two major political parties were to break out in this sphere, the consequences would be inconceivable.

All too often these issues arouse emotions which people can then no longer control—emotions which no longer benefit those who awakened them in the first place, but assist more radical elements. Minister of Justice Heinemann is right: especially in disturbed times, the judiciary and the legislature need to pursue a calm and firm path.

Rolf Zindel  
(DIE ZEIT, 31 January 1969)

However, despite everything I would be bold enough to prophesy that the academic civil war in this country cannot become a general civil war because—unlike the situation in Paris last year—the workers do not go along with the student revolt. Moreover, this country has not got a capital like Paris and the German people are not very good at revolutions. Sooner or later the student revolt will collapse.

Nonetheless, much could be destroyed in the meantime. Everything depends on how the majority of students, who are moderates and willing to accept reforms, react. Up to now the student committees and the Students' Union have been largely dominated by radicals.

These radicals have been considerably successful in their efforts to gain the support of apolitical or uncommitted students. Instructors and a lack of popular authority on the part of university staff, state governments, the general public and parents have played into the hands of the radicals.

On the other hand, surely it is the most liberally inclined, the left-wing professors, ministers, judges and journalists who are most vehemently run down by the SDS? If even Professors Habermas and Dahrendorf should not be permitted to teach, then who should be?

Thilo Koch  
(NIEUW ROTTERDAM, 27 January 1969)

that judges should be prevented from administering the law.

Benda added that it would, however, be wrong to try and stop young people running amok simply by using police measures. The discontent of the younger generation was not without foundation. There were still certain social injustices and outdated authoritarian structures which should be eliminated. Universities were urgently in need of reform.

Certain reforms, which might not have gone off the ground otherwise, had certainly been initiated by the actions of extremist groups. But last year every citizen was made aware that the democratic order in the Federal Republic is exposed to dangers. "Last year we saw signs of madness and hatred, which have not yet disappeared," commented Benda.

(DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 29 January 1969)



## RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

## The question of democracy in a church

BY MARTIN NIEMÖLLER

Discussion about democratisation of the Church is becoming more widespread. The debate involves not only the necessity for democratisation but also the limits of democratising considerable differences of opinion. Martin Niemöller, former president of the Hesse-Nassau Church, who recently resigned from the Hesse and Nassau synod of the Protestant Church, discusses the reasons for his resignation.

At the end of 1918 the Protestant community in Germany was faced with a vacuum because of the abolition of "sovereign church government." This vacuum had to be filled because the Christian community, like any other body of people who join forces for a common end, needed an organisational structure.

In the days of "sovereign church government," this structure was monarchical or patriarchal. However, when the monarchs disappeared new organisational forms had to be devised and established, as had already happened here and there particularly in Rhineland-Westphalia where the Church had a basically synodal constitution.

This structure was generally accepted, even in places where individual churches created a bishopric whose incumbent still had to be elected by the synod and was bound by the rules and regulations decided upon by the synod.

Thus, the monarchy was not replaced by a monarchical hierarchy which at any rate is not in keeping with Protestantism since it depends right from the start on recognition of the "general priesthood of the faithful."

If "democracy" is taken to mean a structure in which all citizens have basically the same rights, and in the interests of coexistence accept majority decisions, then to an outsider the synodal structure is a typical "democratic" system within the Church. For this reason the Nazi régime rendered the Church innocuous even at a time when one could no longer be sure of the majority of professing Christians.

With the end of the war in 1945 the twelve-year spectre disappeared, which had practically invalidated synodal structures in the Protestant Church in Germany. In August 1945 I was able to say at the Conference of Protestant Church Leaders in Treysen on behalf of the Reich Federal Council of the Confessio of Churches:

"Democracy, as it has been established in the Western world since the beginning of Christian history, has more to do with Christianity than any form of authoritarian government which denies the rights and freedom of the individual. We must bear these factors in mind and draw the appropriate conclusions as regards the practical attitude of the Church and our words as churchmen."

Within the Protestant Church in Germany (EKD), which was just being established at that time, the conclusions drawn by the autonomous member churches varied considerably according to how much influence was credited to the legislative bodies (synods) or to the executive bodies (ecclesiastical authorities, bishops). In addition, considerable variations remained or developed in the dependence of individual church communities on superior bodies or authorities (dioceses, the Church as a whole).

Generally speaking, the trend of development was clearly moving in the direction of strengthening democratic tendencies and abolishing traditional, outdated authoritarian structures. As with all democratisation processes, the strongest and most obstinate resistance to all modernising reforms was encountered in respect of the status of full-time and part-

time church workers, ministers, church officials and salary-eaters.

Every attempt to quicken the pace of democratisation comes up against instinctive resistance on the part of the bureaucracy or the Establishment because the people involved are anxious to maintain an existing structure with which they are familiar for reasons of self-preservation.

Hence, even today every revolutionary movement is directed against conservative and reactionary elements and institutions, when no controlling bodies with adequate powers exist to overcome the influence of these elements.

There is no doubt despite all the conclusions reached since 1945 there are no aspects and institutions within the Protestant Church which need reforming. And therefore our Church must also take into account the revolutionary tendency which is at present affecting the stagnating development of human society as a whole.

## Modernisation and revision

The Protestant Church in Hesse and Nassau, which was only re-formed in 1947 and thereafter created its "constitution" within the ecclesiastical structure, began a process of revision and modernisation in the early 1960s at the instigation of the church leaders—that is of the Establishment. The Hesse Church was and is the most progressive member Church in the EKD.

Nonetheless, the Church naturally needs to be constantly reviewed and developed because the world and the society, in which this organisation has to fulfill its task, are in a permanent state of flux necessitating changes in structure and organisational forms. The Church must adapt to these changed circumstances and it should and wants to serve the world and human society.

Thus, justifiable criticism of democratisation of the Church certainly cannot be based on organisational or structural traditions because there is no such thing as an unalterably correct or even "sacred" order of the Church and its "offices," and according to the Gospel such an order could not exist unless the glad tidings of Christianity were to be falsified into a depressing—this is restricting instead of liberating—law.

Admittedly, it would be just as wrong if the organisation and structure of a Church or Christian community simply imitated or copied worldly social systems and structures. Democratisation of the Church must not amount to the same thing as democratisation of society.

In the last resort it would be stupid if, for example, synods were transformed into parliaments or if people maintained that the creation of church parties was necessary or at least desirable to improve the functioning of synods.

Thus a so-called expert who has studied and mastered sociology, management, economics and political science cannot be made responsible for democratising an ecclesiastical constitution or standing orders or a church structure, however valuable and desirable his advice might be under certain circumstances.

For there is a little more or a far more important aspect to the organisation of the Church: In the Church, if it is to be a "Christian" Church, there is an authority which is superior to the majority view of constituent members. The Church—whether it be a religious order, a parish, a regional or state Church, an international denominational association or a world ecumenical movement—has a Lord which it is bound to follow and serve responsibly in all that it is or does.

Anyone who applies himself to the task of creating or reforming an ecclesiastical structure not only has to ask himself what is practical, purposeful and economic,



Martin Niemöller (Photo: dpa)

but also whether what he is doing and proposing accords with the will of the person he, as a believing member of the community of Jesus Christ's disciples, calls his Lord.

And a synod, like the synod of the Protestant Church in Hesse and Nassau, which reaches such decisions should, before enacting them, surely check whether it can confidently believe that its decision is in accordance with the Spirit of the Lord and meets with His approval.

The fact that there was no indication or even a trace of any kind of respect for the Lord during the negotiations of our church synod in December 1968, when questions relating to church structures were discussed, led me to wonder whether anyone on the synod played any longer and persuaded me to quit the synod.

The Lord Jesus Christ cannot be replaced by anyone or anything and if He is not regarded as the highly personal Lord, our Lord, then we as Christians have nothing more to lose. What, then, would be the point of a Church at all?

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 January 1969)

## Protestant church unity threatened

BEGINNING OF DENOMINATIONAL UNITY PERHAPS

The days of the Protestant Church in Germany (EKD) as an organisational entity are numbered. This summer the eight state Churches in the Soviet Zone intend to form their own ecclesiastical union. Thereafter the all-German bodies of the EKD, the synod and council with Bavarian Bishop Dietzlbinger at the helm, will no longer be able to carry out their responsibilities in the Soviet Zone.

This announcement by East Berlin's episcopal administrator Albrecht Schönherr is not unexpected. It is true that ways and means of communication between the Churches in the Federal Republic and the Soviet Zone have constantly been arranged with remarkable willingness.

What began so promisingly in Eisenach in 1948—the first initiative aimed at overcoming the splitting of the Protestant community due to historical circumstances—was to be maintained at all costs and not abandoned without a struggle. Protestants are very keen on unity.

This is the only way of explaining the imaginative idea of holding partial synods, meeting in different places to invalidate Ulbricht's ban on exili paria for Soviet Zone churchmen. Unity was tended and cherished with sentimental attachment although it became obvious particularly in recent years that keeping up appearances was more important than practicalities.

Looked at soberly, they are merely reacting to circumstances and have also implicitly pointed out that the political coordinating function of the Church is of secondary importance. Albrecht Schönherr made this absolutely plain. "Ecclesiastical bodies should witness the faith. If they can no longer do this, then they should be transformed. We will all have our hands full trying to find the

right way to preach the Gospel in our socialist environment."

Perhaps it is quite a good thing that the Churches in the Soviet Zone have decided to pursue their own organisational objectives. Now the Protestant Churches in the Federal Republic can do little else but consider means of meeting organisational diffusion.

If the good will which has previously been lavished in maintaining Church unity in the form of an organisation were to be energetically applied to abolishing intra-church barriers, then the demise of the EKD could even mark the beginning of denominational unity, which is much more important and is still far-reaching—just think of the renewed argument about Communion.

There is no doubt that the Soviet Zone Churches have acted under pressure from Ulbricht and his tameable theory. But they have also made it unmistakably clear that they have not the slightest intention of surrendering "the specific unity of historical brands."

In other words, they want to eliminate antiquated, denominational barriers. This is the point which should be remembered, and too many times should not be shed over the end of the EKD.

Günter Tilliger  
(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 22 January 1969)

## LABOUR RELATIONS

## Inter-Bloc trade union relationships

DEMANDS FOR RE-NEWED CONTACTS

Approval for the Czechoslovak liberation struggle is expressed in the same breath as the desire to come to some arrangement with Czechoslovakia's employers. This hitherto unbridled enthusiasm was the way in which the American trade union confederation AFL-CIO described the present Eastern policy of the Confederation of Federal Republic Trade Unions (DGB).

And indeed trade unions in this country seem anxious to re-establish contacts with unions in the Soviet Union and its satellites, which were spontaneously broken off after the tragic invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In 1949 the free trade unions of the Western world disassociated themselves from the communist World Federation of Trade Unions by founding the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (IFCTU). In the same year the International conference between the DGB and Soviet Zone Trade Union Confederation (FDGB) was stopped.

For almost fifteen years thereafter Federal Republic trade unions studiously avoided any contacts with the East. The trade union counterpart to Bonn's Hallstein Doctrine was an IFCTU decision reached in 1955, which forbade member unions to establish links with workers' organisations in the East.

This decision was in fact continued in 1962 and 1964. However, when Scandinavian and British trade unions in particular began to disregard to an increasing extent the officially outlined ostracism of the East, the DGB also started to review its position in the light of others of contacts with the East.

As a result exchanges of delegations with East bloc countries and meetings with representatives of organisations and institutions in these countries were officially approved in October 1964. Through the provision that the DGB Federal executive should decide on each individual instance.

Trade union contacts with the East were officially initiated in the autumn of 1965 when the chairman of the transport workers' union (UTV), Heinz Klauke, went to Czechoslovakia. From



then on more and more unions and finally the DGB itself began to establish and cultivate contacts with the East.

ITV and the chemical workers' union, IG Chemie, led the field, whereas the metal workers' union, IG Metall, was noticeably reserved for quite some time. In view of the increasingly varied and intensive Eastern tourism by trade union officials, the DGB left obliged in January 1967 to set out special guidelines for journeys to East Bloc nations.

They were intended to prevent trade unionists from this country, who were only too willing to establish Eastern contacts, from being politically duped by the Communists. In addition, these guidelines again confirmed the DGB decision not to allow individual trade union groups to enter into relations with the Soviet Zone FDGB, despite demands to the contrary.

DGB chairman Ludwig Rosenberg declared that the inviolable aim of trade unions during the second century of their existence was still to make life more humane, more dignified and more liberal. At a ceremony in West Berlin to mark the hundredth anniversary of trade unions, Rosenberg appealed for consideration of the "basic questions of our existence," and warned against the dangers of lapsing into a situation where means and ends were confused. Rosenberg enumerated the following fundamental principles for future trade union activities:

- Man and his well-being as the primary consideration.
- Freedom of opinion in a free society.
- The inevitability of democracy and uncompromising rejection of all forms of dictatorship.
- Liberal self-determination on all levels of human co-existence.

Trade union tourism in the East, which was outlawed by the Grand Coalition's new Eastern policy, experienced its first crisis in June 1968 when the Soviet Zone government made intra-German traffic more difficult by insisting on passports and visas. At the time DGB chairman, Ludwig Rosenberg, cancelled a journey to Moscow in protest.

However, unperturbed the DGB executive announced simultaneously that, despite the worsening of the situation as a result of Soviet Zone measures, they would continue to foster links with trade unions in the East.

But when two months later the Soviet Union and four of its satellites invaded Czechoslovakia, the moment of truth had come for the DGB. They felt obliged to intensify relations with trade unions in countries which participated in the invasion. At the same time it was stated that the re-establishment of contacts would depend on further developments in Czechoslovakia.

Suddenly, this decision brought to light the political double-mindedness of trade union Eastern contacts. The argument that trade

unions in the East Bloc are only extensions of the relevant communist government and not genuine workers' organisations, has always been countered by supporters of Eastern contacts with the assertion that matters are not as simple as that. But now they have accepted the thesis of restricted state trade unions.

Moreover, by making the re-establishment of Eastern contacts dependent on further developments in Czechoslovakia, the DGB has merely manoeuvred itself out of one embarrassing situation into another. In practice the decision to re-open contacts with the East would amount to a positive assessment of the development of internal circumstances in Czechoslovakia.

In view of the continued tension in Czechoslovakia the DGB Federal executive has so far avoided passing such a portentous judgement—although it is said that Czechoslovak sources have encouraged the DGB to re-establish contacts.

Criticism of this reserve and growing demands for the re-establishment of contacts also lead to interesting inferences about the political attitude of other trade union circles in this country. For example, in an interview with a Prague newspaper in June 1967 the chairman of IG Chemie, Gefeller, emphasised: "The ideal system would be a combination of the American standard of living and the social conditions prevalent in Czechoslovakia."

Wilhelm Brunn  
(DEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE SONNTAGSBLATT, 26 January 1969)

## Ludwig Rosenberg speaks in Berlin at trade union centenary celebrations

Rosenberg warned against the misuse of freedom; he appealed for the support of democracy, despite its weaknesses. The purpose of life, he said, was not to effect technological advances, to increase productivity in unceasingly heights, or to foster a small in large circle of experts in all fields.

The point of life was to make the individual and society happier, freer and more independent. Rosenberg criticised "pure materialism" which indicated of spiritual emptiness and the inability to love life.

Trade unions would not regard their sole purpose as the improvement of wages and working conditions; this was only the means to a higher aim. Unions are not production clubs but a movement aimed at liberating man.

Referring to the current discussion about worker-management participation, the DGB chairman said that personal freedom on an economic level could only be maintained if it was possible to alter gradually the present balance of power.



Ludwig Rosenberg (Photo: dpa)

ishment of international trade union relations. It is a question of balancing the external interests of the trade unions with their internal responsibilities.

Involvement in the notorious Emergency Legislation, re-armament and Easter protest marches created headlines but did not bring the unions new members. Trade union influence on the worker-management participation debate is also derived less from organisational strength than from a strong undercurrent of public opinion.

It is said that worker-management participation would put an end to authoritarian decision-making, and lead to democratic and electoral methods; the trade unions themselves would be affected by the new decision-making mechanisms.

Gscheidle is well aware of these problems. At the last DGB congress in West Berlin he advocated the idea of the unions pursuing a middle way between uncompromising rejection and support of Emergency Legislation so that employees' rights would be safeguarded. On this occasion Gscheidle and his colleagues were defeated. In the Bundesrat he voted against the revised Emergency Legislation.

His unanimous nomination as Rosenberg's successor means that Gscheidle is now assured of the support of those union chairmen who did not agree with him in West Berlin.

Gertraud Wiff  
(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 22 January 1969)

## General approval of Kurt Gscheidle nomination for chairmanship

Leading trade unionists regard the nomination of Kurt Gscheidle for the chairmanship of the Confederation of Federal Republic Trade Unions (DGB) as the best possible solution to the problem of finding a successor to Ludwig Rosenberg.

This decision was reached after Adolf Mirkes of the leather workers' union declined nomination, at the urgent request of his organisation, at a meeting of trade union chairmen. Adolf Mirkes was suggested by Otto Brauner, chairman of the metal workers' union (IG Metall).

Then Brauner turned his attention to Gscheidle. Without stipulating any conditions, Gscheidle agreed to nomination and the chairman of other unions unanimously pledged their cooperation.

However, all sixteen unions belonging to the DGB are now agreed that the whole organisation of the DGB must be revised and adapted to changed economic and political conditions. The point at issue is how this should be achieved. This factor should be remembered. A unanimously nominated candidate has not yet been elected, and the decisions of a trade union congress are sovereign.

Kurt Gscheidle is not a second-ranking trade unionist. He would have succeeded Carl Stenger as chairman of the postal workers' union; this would only have been a matter of time.

As a Social Democratic member of the Bundestag, he has made a name for himself as a clear-headed, conciliatory and determined man. The fact that his party appointed Gscheidle, who is only 44 years old, to the committee which dealt with the tricky Gerschmutter issue proves that he has earned respect beyond the bounds of the Social Democratic Party (SPD). He would have been assured of a political career in Bonn.

Now, Gscheidle has chosen the most difficult path to pursue, that of DGB chairman. In view of his age he could remain at the head of the DGB for a long time. This is an important consideration because continuity of leadership by an energetic man who has modern ideas and is willing to take risks is essential for the trade union movement. Above all, the DGB must put greater emphasis on home affairs as opposed to foreign policy during the next few years.

This has nothing to do with the estab-

Either the concentration of economic power would be allowed to continue without controls or worker-management participation, which would inevitably lead to one-sided domination by a small section of the population. Or people must recognise the danger that this would certainly produce an authoritarian structure which would make a farce of political and individual freedom and limit this freedom to election days and festive times.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 January 1969)



## THE ARTS

## Karl vom Stein's monumental work on German history 150 years old

Baron Karl vom Stein founded a society which was to prove of great service to historical research not only in Germany but throughout the world. On 20 January 1819, he founded in Frankfurt, then a Free City of the German Confederation, a society to publish Monumenta Germaniae Historica. The aim of the society was to collect and classify all available documents pertaining to the Mediaeval Empire.

Plans for a society of this kind had been discussed for years, but it was not until Karl vom Stein took the matter in hand that anything definite was done about it. Baron vom Stein entered the service of Frederick the Great in 1780. From 1804 to 1807 he was Minister for Trade. On account of his anti-French activities Napoleon secured his dismissal.

After Napoleon's downfall, Stein was bitterly disappointed with the Congress of Vienna which refused to adopt Stein's proposals for a united Germany. Instead, it was decided to replace the Reich that was dissolved in 1807 with a German Confederation of sovereign states.

Karl vom Stein sought to resist the fragmentation of Germany by drawing attention to the common heritage of German history, and by encouraging intensive study of this heritage in chronicles, annals, biographies, legal and political documents, writings pertaining to kings and knights, letters, historical poems, and everything contributory to an understanding of medieval German history.

This vigorous statesman secured the advice and assistance of other scholars including Savigny and the Grimm brothers. Goethe also gave him his full support.

Stein founded his society, however, without the assistance of professors, universities nor academics, without state grants and even in the face of opposition from influential quarters in Prussia and Austria, particularly from Hardenberg and Metternich. He gave his Monumenta the device "sanctus amor patriae det enitum," and this appeal to patriotic sentiment, in the year of the Karlsbad Decrees against national "demagogues," was not very welcome. But it was a courageous defiance of all that was common and should remain common to Germans.

On 20 January 1819, accepted as the foundation day of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Stein had recruited only four people of rank and scholarship to form a "central committee" of the new society. These were envoys of Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden and Mecklenburg to the Frankfurt Parliament. The most enthu-



siastic and active of them was the Bavarian envoy, Adam von Armin, who was nominated vice-president of the society, with Stein as president.

After several meetings, this committee founded on 12 June 1819 a Society for Ancient German History. It was not until then that university historians, librarians and other public officials and scholars were invited to join the society as scholars and patrons.

The response to the invitation was great. Many wished to take an active part in the society's research. Nevertheless, it is doubtful that the society, which never held a general meeting and whose executive committee was all but dissolved after Stein's death, would have succeeded in publishing the Monumenta were it not that Stein, after many disappointments in the beginning, eventually found a young man of exceptional talent who was to devote his entire life to this undertaking. He was Georg Heinrich Pertz from Hanover, Stein's biographer.

Pertz, son of a bookbinder, was 25 when he completed his studies in Göttingen and decided to work for Stein's Monumenta. He proved his abilities so well that after

three years Stein put him in charge of research.

For fifty years Pertz devoted his time and energies to the Monumenta. He remained for a while in Hanover, then in 1842 moved to Berlin where he was appointed chief librarian and member of the academy. He enlisted the aid of young historians and scholars anxious to distinguish themselves in the field of research, with hopes of an academic appointment. With these and colleagues in other parts of the country Pertz published the first 25 volumes of Monumenta in 1860.

These soon obtained distinction in the world of letters. They were also appreciated as a "national undertaking" for which Pertz eventually received a fixed grant from the German Confederation.

When the Confederation was abolished and Bismarck had founded his empire, excluding Austria, work on the Monumenta was continued without regard to the new national boundaries. Funds kept coming in from government sources, and so the society was raised to a new level.

With the assistance of academics in Berlin, Munich and Vienna a new central committee was formed in 1875 comprising scholars who elected their own president. The first president in this phase was Georg Walz, who had been one of Pertz's ablest assistants. Holding a Göttingen professorship, he later became a master of original research.

## Theodor Werner — painter of harmony and emotion

Theodor Werner, the painter, was not known to many for a long time. His reputation was slow to develop, and yet he is one of the best painters of non-representational art in this country. He died recently in Munich, after an operation, aged eighty.

It is too soon to say how great the loss is, but that it is great is beyond doubt. In his serious and deeply reflective work Werner would seem to eclipse both Bauhaus and Kandinsky.

An elegant, slim man approached me during the war in Potsdam when I met Werner who was accompanied by Will Grohmann. His clipped and clever way of speaking was as convincing as his work of that time which this former student of the Stuttgart Academy exhibited

during his four years in Paris but which he was not allowed to show in Germany.

Theodor Werner, who was born in the south of Germany, in Würtemberg, seemed at home in Potsdam. He was still, serious and narrow-lipped. After the war he and his family moved to Munich. His wife, Wotzy, is an excellent weaver. Her non-representational "carpets," which are often no bigger than one's hand, possess a special charm.

Werner's flat was near the Old Pinakothek. In it were hung some of the most precious works of Paul Klee, Braque and other friends of the artist. Miro exercised a temporary influence on Werner during his years in Paris.

Werner, however, who was often as obstinate and truculent as any person from Würtemberg, followed his own path to a mode of abstraction which is entirely his property. He did not court transitory, fashionable trends in art. He lived to an almost scientifically determined formal world which imparts to his paintings a distinctive gravity that almost amounts to melancholy.

Theodor Werner progressed slowly and reflectively along his way. He "matured" late, in the sense that it took him years to find his own style. His style was noble artistry. Nothing slipped, as it were, through his fingers.

Often on dark, richly detailed backgrounds gentle curves appeared, delicate lineations. A pattern of musical quality unfolded.

Werner's pictures demood of the viewer the same peace of mind, or the same placidity of mind, that the artist possessed. These works cannot be "interpreted." They speak through their chromatic and formal harmony, and through their reserve, which was also a trait in Werner's nature. His pictures maintain a balance that only a true master can achieve on canvas.

Work on the Monumenta flourished in this period. It was naturally hampered by the First World War and its after-effects, and also by the controls later exercised by the Nazis. But after the Second World War—the valuable library was removed from Berlin to Pommersfelden Castle near Bamberg for safety's sake—work was resumed in Munich in the "German Mediaeval Research Institute."

The control committee was re-established, also its right to elect its own president. This executive now includes representatives of all Federal Republic academies, including those of West Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Mainz and Munich. A Swiss historian is a member of the society, and the Austrian Academy in Vienna is represented.

Thanks to the untiring influence of the society, historians, fulfilling the aims of its founder, are working on a common task beyond national borders in German-speaking areas. The magnitude and direction of this task could not have been foreseen by the founders of the Monumenta society.

Since historians, 150 years ago, began to rummage around in archives and libraries for manuscripts that would serve as material for critical editions of mediaeval historical sources, this field of research has been greatly extended and intensified. Much that had been planned when Pertz and his assistants laid the foundations of the present society was realised only after years of slow, methodical work and experience. Much still remains to be done if Karl vom Stein's original plan for an exhaustive body of literature on the Middle Ages is to be carried out. Future tasks will be discussed at the Monumenta's next annual meeting on 12 March, when the society will celebrate the 150th anniversary of its foundation.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 January 1969)



Theodor Werner  
(Photos Fritz Eder)

Making the acquaintance of Theodor Werner and his works is a joyful event. Here we have intelligence, sensitivity, imagination and passion.

Werner was dignified in the best sense. He was a man who fully mastered his matter, who showed courage and remained true to himself, which is a great thing to be able to say of an artist.

Now Theodor Werner has closed his eyes for ever, eyes which in the beauty of the world of today had sought the stringent, unalterable truth of artistic form, and found it. He remained silent and knowing as regards the secrets that seem to be locked away in his art and yet seem to illuminate it splendidly.

(DIE WELT, 18 January 1969)

## LITERATURE

## Development of the book as art form

Karl Alfred von Meysenbug: Glamour Girl. Comic strip, eighty pages, 5 Marks. Super-Mädchen, 18 Marks. Heinrich Heine Verlag, Frankfurt, 1968.

In the book world a trend is taking shape around the typical characteristics of certain genres. The genre known as belle-lettres is being considered from the point of view of the objective character of books. Another genre, graphic literature, is being developed from illustrative material.

With regard to belle-lettres, books as objects to touch and carry around, satisfying the possessive instinct, are determined by their material character—single pages that are bound together. That they are single and are also bound together is determined by the handling of a book as an object.

The handling of a book consists in turning the pages, and this act of page-turning, or leafing through a book, is being exploited, whereby the act of turning the pages fully complements the objective character of the book. This is one answer to whether publishers with their enormous output (there are not enough readers for the number of books they print) should continue publishing such a vast volume of literature. Belle-lettres are primarily destined to appease the possessive instinct, and since there are no limits to this instinct, there can be no limit to the amount of books published.

As regards graphic literature, publishers say that more proud copies with blank pages are stolen at exhibitions than genuine books. This is symptomatic. Clearly, those who like these books want to write on the blank pages. This will not of course appease the desire to be the owner of something instead of admiring and digesting the work of another. After the book has been scribbled on and things pasted in it ends up in the attic.

The compulsion to do this is related to the objective contents of the book, and publishers react accordingly by printing books in which the pattern of text and illustration is so close that the reader can supplement the contents in whatever way

he pleases. This gives him the feeling that he is part of the book.

Such additions are simplest when they represent the background to single, implied, abbreviated, informative signals. These signals must be striking, illustrative and "immediate." This immediacy—having something hit you between the eyes, as it were—gives the reader the feeling of being very close to the substance of the book. The page becomes an area of confrontation.

The new trend can therefore be said to be a merging of the objective character of a book with the heightened expectations of confrontation of the reader. Two books have appeared in the Heinrich Heine Verlag which fulfil these conditions in the highest degree.

Glamour Girl and Super-Mädchen were written and illustrated by Karl Alfred von Meysenbug. Super-Mädchen is a multi-colour publication. Glamour-Girl has a paperback format. Both books are comic strips. Both are books to be leafed through, the pages being flipped back with the thumb.

## Expected confrontations unfolded

The pattern of information that unfolds is sufficiently concentrated to make for the expected confrontation. On every page the trend we have been talking about is complemented. Every page can be taken to represent the whole book.

Meysenbug achieves this effect by greatly simplifying the "perspectives." There are very few complete or semi-complete illustrations. The close-up portraits, followed by the sweeping, American-style overall view.

The author draws from photographs he has taken himself. The reader, in turn, looks at the book as if he were a detective. He looks at the really is the dialogue partner.

Meysenbug's talent is in establishing on every page a special relationship between single illustration and illustrative sequence. This is what ambitious adver-



An illustration from Karl Alfred von Meysenbug's 'Super-Mädchen'

tisements also strive to do. Meysenbug is not dependent on the concrete continuity of the comic-strip sequence because this is replaced by page-turning activity.

Super-Mädchen can completely transpose the continuity of the narrated story to the continuity of turning the pages. Texts which endeavour to interpret the context in the sense of time-and-pilot sequence seem peddled and leaden.

This method of determining the illustrative foreground tempts many readers to "mystify" the various parts of the body and the objects instead of imaginatively extending them. As opposed to advertising, Meysenbug is surely not interested in such mystification.

Meysenbug seems to be concerned with that special form of instrumentalism exploited in the silent films when, for example, doorhandles are shown close up to suggest that someone is going to make a terrible or strange entrance. This instrumentalism also explains the many illustrative gestures, significant looks and demonstrative poses of the comic-strip characters.

The effect is achieved in dialogue as well as in illustration. The next suggests the current pattern of attempts at socialisation. The Super-Mädchen is the ship

assistant who slowly realises that she is always only selling herself. That is why she honours truth and goes out on the streets.

Glamour Girl lies and lives on the street until she realises that only a political union with others can form the organisational principle of her life. As a shop assistant she is a whore, but as a whore one has the chance to become aware of one's predicament.

The accompanying text supplies a literary flavouring the picture, which enables the author to come to conclusions about himself. If the author can so clearly motivate himself in his behaviour, the owners of Meysenbug's books will also have the possibility of thinking up motivations for "reading behaviour."

The expectation of a confrontation is doubly fulfilled. The reader can participate in the arrangement of the material (by making additions, for example) and he receives new motivations. The foreground acquires depth.

The use and production of books of this kind are social modes of behaviour that should be taken seriously.

Ulrich Frank  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 January 1969)

## A re-assessment of Russian writer Anton Chekhov

Siegfried Melchinger: Anton Chekhov, Friedrich Verlag, Vöhl, 150 pages, still cover, 4.80 Marks. (Friedrich's Dramatiker des Welttheaters, Vol. 57).

If Chekhov could read what is said about him today in many books—"the great narrator of his epoch," "a fading epoch, the fin de siècle, and so on—he would laugh in scorn," writes Siegfried Melchinger in his recently published monography of Anton Chekhov. Melchinger presents with spirit and precision an interpretation that is free of cliché and sentiment.

Melchinger discounts the still much-celebrated mood that marked Chekhov's plays, even at their premieres. He says the misunderstandings or misinterpretations began with Stanislavsky, the confusion of mood with truth. Melchinger, who writes with great personal conviction and an almost pedantic attention to detail, said in this case has written a truly exciting book, points out that "mood" wherever it is needed in the plays has dramatic significance. The sentimental, the touching, the tearful is never an end in itself.

"Chekhov's plays are misrepresented if they are wrapped in a veil of melancholy and morbidity. Their atmosphere develops in silence, and this silence begins where conversation ceases, where the foreground becomes a screen through

which the truth shines," writes Melchinger.

The life that Chekhov portrays is that of the Russia of his day, but his plays have nothing to do with Slavophilism or Russianism. Chekhov was a doctor, a scientist. "He could only write about what he understood and knew," observes Melchinger.

Chekhov recognised the social ills of his day, but he did not use them as material for his plays. However, "following a scientific study which he published after touring Siberia for three months and living for another three months on the island of Sakhalin, reporting on conditions under which deportees were forced to live, the worst evils were eradicated."

Chekhov felt that he could not have done more as a doctor and as a writer. As a writer he wished to avoid politics. "There are enough public prosecutors and policemen." But Chekhov was a staunch, even embittered enemy of the system. He announced his decision to withdraw from the Imperial Academy, of which he had been made a member in 1900, when two years later it expelled Gorky by order of the Czar.

"Stanislavsky has ruined my plans," wrote Chekhov after a performance of

the Cherry Orchard at the Moscow Arts Theatre. He also thought Stanislavsky an insensitive interpreter, although Stanislavsky had freed Russian theatre from grubby provincialism.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Chekhov was dispassionate enough to pass a severe judgement on true and accurate interpretation. Gorky was one of the first to recognise the basic tension between poetry and scepticism in Chekhov's plays and Vachtangov, who studied under Stanislavsky, later opposed his master's "chronic need to subdue everything."

Stanislavsky produced "theatre of mood" and the expressions of this mood were those of ennui, melancholy, elegiac boredom. Ennui, in Melchinger's opinion, however, is something entirely different. It is something to be hated. It is closest to vacuity. "The ennui of Chekhov's epoch, this pervasive sense of boredom, differs only in externals from that which afflicts us today, namely mostly. The awareness of vacuity is deadened, today as in Chekhov's time."

Melchinger calls Chekhov's basic principle "scientific." A certain scepticism is needed to apply this principle. Cress na-

tionalism is uninteresting. "Stagecraft—that is art," said Chekhov.

The method used is that of exploring the hidden corners of truth. "When people talk to each other the truth lies not in what they say but in what they do not say."

Chekhov rediscovered the dramatic significance of silence, but this silence is not identical with mime. "It is nothing other than silence." The audience is not hypnotised, not shrouded in melancholy. The prescribed noises are not meant to create illusions, they are dramatic.

Truth is condensed, concentrated, and "the quintessence was presented to the public as to a jury who must pass judgement." Melchinger thus rightly calls Chekhov's theatre a "theatre of demonstration."

Melchinger interprets the plays in detail, but there remains much more to be said. "Whatever can be said about Chekhov must be said in paradoxes. He was a doctor, but seriously ill himself. He laughed through tears, as Gorky said of him. He wrote comedies which were played as if they were tragedies.

He saw behind the facade of his day and knew and wished that everything would change, everything except the which no one can change, nature, also the nature of man, the nature of life."

Günter Schöble  
(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 18 January 1969)

## Minimal Art show staged in Düsseldorf

Düsseldorf is the second city in Europe to welcome the exhibition of American Minimal Art, assembled by Enno Develing. The Kunsthalle and the Kunstverein are both showing works by Carl Andre, Ronald Bladen, Dan Flavin, Robert Groves, Donald Judd, Sol LeWitt, Robert Morris, Tony Smith, Robert Smithson and Michael Steiner.

This exhibition, entitled, Minimal Art, takes an important place in the exhibition history of both institutions which have resolved to present as far as possible and as authentically as possible the vital movements of contemporary art. This exhibition was last seen at The Hague.

In Düsseldorf it is clearly intended as an instructive display.

Clearly, too, this is not in any way a definitive selection, but it is certainly a typical one. Enno Develing says in the catalogue that this topical art form is characterised by its radical rejection of all traditionalities by its endeavours to reflect the accomplishments of science by its social significance, resting on a new approach to the basic problem of existence today, as a preconceived utopia which constantly changes according to the position of the viewer, and it is marked by the hidden nature of its ingredients.

A missionary spirit is unmistakable in the Düsseldorf exhibition.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 January 1969)

Düsseldorf 1969



## THE ECONOMY

## Investment abroad aids export surpluses

STEADY FLOW OF CAPITAL ESSENTIAL

Frankfurter Allgemeine  
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Last year, the Federal Republic exported an exceptionally large block of long-term capital, over 10,000 million Marks. This helped gradually to counterbalance the high export surplus.

Ignoring the temporary effects of currency speculation, a fairly good basic balance of payments was achieved, according to figures available at the end of November. Capital exports in the form of purchases of foreign securities or issues of one kind or another cannot, however, be maintained on this high level because of the capital needs of the home market, and the limitations of this market.

From an economic viewpoint, this is exporting capital for others, and the only advantage is that the balance of payments is temporarily improved. Nevertheless, the flow of investments will not dry up completely.

One assurance of this is the fact that the possibilities of raising money on major international markets will remain restricted. Whereas access to this country's capital market will remain open to foreign issues, access to the American, British and French markets is becoming increasingly difficult.

This enhances the importance of the second classical form of capital export, namely, direct investments abroad. Direct investments of this kind are profitable, manufacturing plant or holdings there, and marketing organizations of Federal Republic companies abroad.

As a guarantee of the future strength of this country's markets such investments are assuming a key function in development plans. An export total of 100,000 million Marks annually—with exports accounting for a quarter of the national product—cannot be maintained purely on a delivery basis in the long term and in view of various uncertainties already in evidence on foreign markets, or to be expected. This is not to mention the disruptions which an unbalanced high export surplus would cause in world trade and the world monetary system.

Only direct activity on foreign markets can offer a reasonable assurance of stability. Direct investments abroad were placed last December at 14,500 million Marks. They are thus seen to be in what amounts to an almost grotesque disproportion to the overall volume of this country's exports.

## Logging capital exports

Comparing the exports-investments ratio of other countries, it is obvious where the Federal Republic is sadly lagging behind. American foreign investments, for example, come to about 400,000 million Marks. British investments are estimated at 90,000 million Marks.

America is at present producing more in its foreign plant (three and a half times more) than it is exporting itself directly. In comparison, the subsidiaries of Federal Republic companies abroad produce little more than one sixth of the volume of this country's industrial exports.

Thus the Federal Republic's chronic export surplus is proving to be a serious structural problem to foreign trade. Stimulated demand on the home market has not made many inroads into this surplus, and this is not probable either in the months to come.

Direct investments, on the other hand, help to improve the balance of payments situation in the long term. They are certainly not a panacea, but a number of effects could be brought to bear with great results on the imbalance of payments that now exists.

For one thing such exports directly reduce this country's current export surplus. With increased investment activity abroad more can be produced abroad and sold to neighbouring markets. What is now being supplied from the Federal Republic could be more easily supplied from strategically located foreign plant.

## Advantages for trading overseas

Increased activity abroad would also mitigate this country's susceptibility to national protectionism and economic fluctuations. Export bases in third countries thus become an important factor in the overall foreign trade balance of a multi-national enterprise.

Direct investments abroad help especially to ease the pressure on the domestic labour market, which is this country's greatest production bottleneck. They also solve the foreign worker problem by removing production facilities to the source of foreign labour. This helps greater output and, all things considered, is less costly.

Besides, this country's balance of payments and that of recipient countries is relieved twice over, by capital exports,

boosting production and industrial expansion in recipient countries, and by re-imports from manufacturing companies financed with Marks to the Federal Republic in the form of deliveries of various kinds.

In developing countries Federal Republic investments promote economic expansion which, beside the major government-financed projects, is thus vitalised by private enterprise and initiative that is so essential to the future well-being of a country. The importance of direct investments does not rest solely on qualitative gains, but more on the qualitative and structural effects. It rests, in other words, on the incentives gained by the combination of capital with technical expertise and business acumen.

What matters now therefore is to maintain a steady flow of capital by way of direct investments with long-term objectives. Much could be done in the field of taxation, which would amount to putting foreign investments on a par with home investments, or at par with what other countries do for their direct investments abroad, in the Federal Republic also, that is.

Without going into great detail in this matter, two essentials must be mentioned. Firstly, the patent company must be placed in a position to compensate taxwise for initial losses incurred in establishing factories abroad. Secondly, depreciation on capital assets of foreign subsidiaries must reciprocate favourably on the financial machinery of the parent company, whether by appropriate transference of

the depreciation concessions, or by comprehensive special depreciation rates of, say, about thirty per cent, on average, in the first three years.

Essential too is better legal security of private property abroad. As long as the proposed general solution on the basis of OECD resolutions is not put into effect, continued efforts must be made to come to bilateral agreements to boost the inter-flow of capital investments.

If direct and productive investments of Federal Republic companies beyond the national borders are facilitated in this way, it must not be thought—as many are sure to think—that special concessions are being “manipulated” for certain enterprises. Whatever encouragement is given merely creates the conditions for increased activity of this country's industry on foreign markets.

This is bound to be in the interests of the economy generally.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 January 1969)

## A good trading year ahead

Economic development plans prepared by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and at present being discussed by the economics committee of the Bundestag are based on expectations of a thriving business year. It is expected that an improved investment climate will boost the national product, at market prices, by seven per cent.

Earned income is expected to increase by 7.5 per cent. Private consumption is also expected to go up by 7.5 per cent, according to Ministry estimates. Prices, however, are expected to be only two per cent higher by the end of the year.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 21 January 1969)

## Balance of trade surplus measures hit shipbuilding



a reduction of 6.0 per cent, taking the duration of loans into account.

Policymakers in Bonn were perfectly aware that shipbuilding would be especially hard hit when they brought in legislation to improve the international balance of payments. This was in effect eliminating Federal states with coastal regions certainly made sure that the government was aware of what it was doing, so the ensuing talks were lively.

When the matter was decided in various ministerial departments, however, talk centred around “measures affecting home trade.” The first measures suggested in this context were subsidies for shipyard investments.

In the shipbuilding industry, which has done much in recent years to modernise and rationalise its facilities, it did not take the experts long to calculate that such an arrangement, over three years of investments, would require subsidies of twenty to fifty per cent. Besides, an equitable system of distribution would hardly be found, apart from the possibly deleterious side-effect that the construction of further facilities would be encouraged.

At this juncture the EEC recommendation was reconsidered. If the subsidy index of 8.8 per cent for 1969 were raised to ten per cent, as proposed by the Brussels Commission, this country's shipyard would at least recoup 3.2 per cent of the

four-per-cent export tax imposed by the new legislation passed in Bonn, and the principle involved would not be undermined.

It would then be up to industry to make up the remaining 6.8 per cent via imports and the margin of latitude that comes of blending the means of financing. Repairs and the special equipment required in several shipyards, however, would not be collected by the new system, if it were to be adopted. The only way to compensate for losses in these sectors would be to increase prices.

The economics committee of the Bundestag will have the last word. Spokesmen for the yards seem to think that the ten-per-cent rate suggested by Brussels has a good chance of being accepted.

It is argued that this would be a smooth continuation of structural measures that have already been taken. The crux of the matter in Bonn at present is the 65 million Marks which would have to be taken from the 500 to 700 million Marks which the government has at its disposal to help especially hard-hit industries.

If the EEC norm were applied beyond the date of expiry of the new legislation to balance trade in 1970, allocations of about eighty million Marks would be required. Before anything can be done, the government must decide this budgetary problem.

It remains to be considered whether it would be possible to bring all Common Market countries with an interest in this dispute to accept a rate of ten per cent in the near future, seeing that the shipbuilding industry cannot progress without state aid in the face of keen international competition.

(DIE WELT, 21 January 1969)

## EXHIBITIONS

## Tinned boats at Hamburg show

PRICES HAVE REMAINED STABLE

STUTTGARTER  
ZEITUNG

One of the principal surprises at this year's International Boat Exhibition in Hamburg's Planten un Blumen is “the boat in the tin.” This is a spectacular example of simplified boat construction at home.

The boat bought in the tin can be built on the kitchen table. Fluid synthetic plastic material, mixed with a hardening agent, is poured like dough into a mould which the builder can construct himself on clip plates according to a sketch supplied with the material.

After a few hours the plastic material, reinforced with mats of glass fibre, is as hard as steel plate. The boat, taken from its mould, is ready for its maiden voyage.

Tinned boats are available in ten sizes from the tiny jolly-boat to the twenty-foot Festival-boat. The smallest, the Nolle, costs 500 Marks.

This “instant boat,” as it is now called, is one of a wide range of exhibits with which the boat-building industry hopes to boost sales after the sad decline of business during the recession in this country when people were not so willing to part with their money.

In 350 plants, manufacturers employing 18,000 workers, have an annual turnover of forty million Marks.

Competition is keen, however, especially in Hamburg which is more attrac-

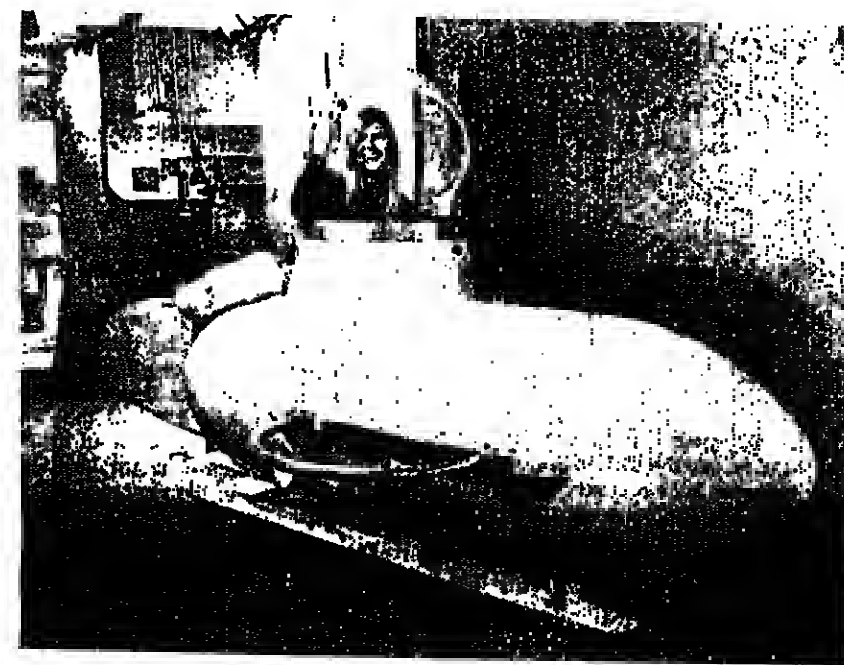
tive for potential buyers than exhibitions in Paris or London which, though on a par with the Hamburg exhibition, are nevertheless less representative of the international trend in boat-building. More than 500 exhibitors from 22 countries filled every corner of the ten pavilions in Planten un Blumen with every conceivable kind of sporting and recreational equipment for surface and underwater pleasures.

Larger and more numerous than ever is the flotilla of some 900 yachts, motor-boats and sailing boats. A strong appeal is being made this year to the medium income brackets with small boats for as little as 450 Marks, or the little filler with the outboard motor, also in that price range.

The highlights of the exhibition, however, are again the costly and luxurious yachts, such as the fifty-foot Dutch super-model and the 36-foot American synthetic yacht costing 300,000 Marks. Its 600 hp engine drinks fifty gallons of petrol an hour. That would keep a medium-size motor car going for a distance of about 1,500 miles.

## Real novelty from America

A genuine novelty in the top price groups is the American house-boat, Am-in-line, which carries a completely furnished two-room apartment with shower and roof-garden on a 33-foot, sea-going yachting hull. The garden is spacious enough for six people to sit comfortably.



What distinguishes the ocean-going apartment, so popular in America and as yet unknown in Europe, is the 250 hp engine which gives Nautoline speed and its makers' ideas. “With our week-end house you can even go water-skiing,” it says in the brochure.

People with less well-filled wallets but all the more interest in nautics will be attracted to the Soling from Kiel. It was recently approved as an Olympic boat and will take part in the Olympic regatta to be held in Kiel in 1972. The chances of this boat winning a medal naturally enhance its appeal among the other proud yachts which this year seem to stand out more proudly than ever from the mass of articles offered to the sporting public.

Fashion, as might be expected, was not neglected by the manufacturers. Instead of the trusty but rather cumbersome oilskins, attractive sailing suits have been designed for women. The material is waterproof nylon and the suits can be easily tucked into a jacket pocket.

Even in times of emergency women are not to lose their chic. A French manufacturer has created a life-jacket with an eye-catching design. Less elegant, but more comforting for inexperienced sailors, are the new automatic life-jackets. They inflate automatically when they come in contact with the water.

Georg Leber, the Minister of Transport, opened the winter supermarket of summer enjoyments on 21 January.

Prices on the whole have remained stable, despite the added value tax. In fact, in some sections prices have fallen slightly. This will help to increase the number, now estimated at 200,000, of motor-boats and sailing vessels at present lying this country's flag near the coast and along inland waterways.

A novel charter service will encourage people to be captains not only of their bath tubs. Through this service, which is to be extended to many European ports, yachts and motor-boats can be rented on a weekly basis. The weekly rate for a

Boats for over the waves and under the waves were on display at the Hamburg Boat Show. This is a “curiosity” for those who wonder what goes on below the surface. More than 300 exhibitors from 22 countries are represented at the exhibition which includes 900 exhibits.

(Photos: Cont-Press)

30,000-Mark motor-boat, for example, would be 1,200 Marks.

The equally new service tustled by two major banks on the exhibition grounds is intended, however, to encourage people to buy their own boats on the spot. The banks offer loans for this purpose.

Such ready-to-hand loans will doubtless tempt many visitors, who may not have otherwise intended to buy, to invest in a boat, and perhaps even in a more expensive boat than they would normally have dreamed of possessing—not to mention the maze of equipment that will be tugging them in several directions at once.

The strangest item in the equipment section was a swimming-suit for the ship's dog.

(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 22 January 1969)

## 15 million TV sets

Fifteen million television sets were in use in the Federal Republic at the end of last year. The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications has issued figures showing that the number of television licences increased in December by 142,755 to 14,98 million.

The number of radio licences in the same period went up by 57,519 to 18,93 million.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 January 1969)

## Aid only for collieries of a certain size

For the coal-mining industry the good times ceased when rich subsidies fell evenly on productive and non-productive collieries. Federal Minister of Economic Affairs, Karl Schiller, is now applying the prerogative of the government to stipulate conditions.

In future, only collieries of a certain size will receive government aid. This means in effect that the only concerns to qualify for government subsidies are those that have been merged under joint management as part of the Ruhr development scheme.

This will put a definite end to the aimless subsidisation of an industrial sector that had failed to pay its own way. How refreshing it would be if the other burdens on the taxpayer, agricultural mismanagement, for example, could be removed in this way.

(DIE ZEIT, 17 January 1969)

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## TECHNOLOGY

## Thawing ice-endangered roadways

COST FACTOR PARTICULARLY PROHIBITIVE

Süddeutsche Zeitung  
MÜNCHEN HEUTIGE NACHRICHTEN

Some 700 guests from ten European countries and the United States attended a congress held recently in Biedersgaden by the Cologne Road Research Association in conjunction with the Ministry of Transport and the Federal public works authority. The subject discussed was road safety in winter.

This country is reputed to lead the world in organisation and techniques of road-clearing in winter. There cannot be many countries in which every mile of Federal highway (main trunk roads) is covered by snow ploughs and salt and grit trucks an average 160 times in the course of a winter. Every mile of autobahn is covered 2,150 times in the course of an average winter.

Even so, three problems remain unsolved despite German thoroughness: black ice cannot always be spotted in time, an economic anti-corrosive road salt has yet to be found and tyres that are as effective as spikes but not as rough on the road surface have yet to be developed.

Last autumn there was a depressing example of the ineffectiveness of black ice early warning systems on the Salzburg-Munich autobahn. In the early morning of 29 November 1968 the fog at Bergen, where the autobahn crosses a valley, congealed into a water-thin film of ice.

## Thousands of Marks of damage

In a matter of minutes a pile-up involving five private cars, a heavy lorry and two coaches occurred. The net result was 100,000 Marks damage and 33 injured persons, some really badly.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that this pile-up could have been prevented by spreading grit or salt as a precautionary measure beforehand but with the methods used at present it is difficult to spot black ice in advance in the autumn.

Early warning systems now undergoing trials respond readily to snow but none too well to ice. They also apply to far too small a stretch of road and the percentage of false alarms is still far too high.

## Early warning systems

Herr Rother, who reported on the work he and his associates at Inzell have been carrying out, is a civic engineer at Inzell highways department's winter section. Since 1962 Inzell has tried out early warning systems at the behest of the Ministry of Transport.

The devices that undergo trials are used not three miles from the scene of the accident just described. The alarm signals they transmit are heard day and night at the nearest autobahn works unit. Yet they utterly failed to spot the black ice that caused the November pile-up.

Even so, Herr Rother is convinced that "A solution to the problems presented by black ice early warning systems is in the offing." In winter, he feels, they are already a great help.

As late as the mid-fifties road conditions accounted for thirty per cent of winter traffic accidents. Despite the rapid increase in traffic density this situation has changed markedly for the better since

thawing agents have been included in road grit.

On Federal highways alone 283,000 tons of salt are spread during the winter. Although motorists acknowledge the gain in road safety they are less enthusiastic about the corrosive effect of the chemicals used. The cost in terms of depreciation on the value of motor vehicles is estimated to be in the region of 400 million Marks a year.

Yet according to Herr Ahlbrecht of the Ministry of Transport trials so far of less corrosive material have been none too encouraging. Additives have proved either to be poisonous or to form a slippery

or sticky surface even on the occasions when they have not been out of the question financially.

The cost factor is particularly prohibitive in the case of synthetic urea, the best thawing agent so far tested. Effective though it is, it would cost an extra 600 million Marks a year to use it rather than salt on the Federal highways alone.

The effect of road salt on car underbodies worries the engineers in charge of public highways less than the damage caused to road surfaces by spikes. The hundreds of rivets in a spikes tyre dig or scratch unmistakable holes in the road. The colder and more brittle the surface

is, the more readily the aggregate parts company with the cement that holds the road together.

There can be no telling how expensive this wear and tear will be when spikes capable of speeds of up to 110 miles an hour are marketed, noted Dr Zehner of Strabag, the Cologne civil engineering contractors.

Maybe heated roads will prove the answer in all these problems. Dr Seifert of Italy reported gratifying results achieved in his country. Heating is a most interesting proposition where inexpensive night current or other unexploited sources of energy are available.

In Milan, where 300 tons of garbage are incinerated every day, the steam generated by the turbine cooling-unit of the incinerator is used to heat 1.7 acres of road surface. Experience so far indicates that the cost of installation is worthwhile. Snow no longer needs to be cleared from the area heated.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 January 1969)

## Anglo-German Ford, the Capri, unveiled

BID FOR INCREASED SALES IN THIS COUNTRY

Ford's have got off to a good start in 1969, both Cologne and Dagenham agree. Unveiled in Bonn and Naples, the Ford Capri is a sports coupe that is neither a saloon tailored to coupe proportions nor a genuine sports car. Ford's market research men reckon there is a promising market in Europe for a four-seater family coupe.

The Capri is available with 1.3, 1.5 and 1.7-litre four-cylinder V engines developing fifty, sixty and 75 horse power respectively or with two-litre and 2.3-litre engines, the four-cylinder versions developing 85 horse power and the six-cylinder models developing ninety, 108 and 125 DIN horse power.

The lowest-priced version costs just 7,000 Marks, the 108-horse-power model 9,300 Marks. Even with optional extras the Capri is a sensation at this price. One of the most interesting versions is the 1700 GT, developing 75 horse power and costing 7,802 Marks. Die Welt's test drivers tried out the 1700 GT along the Bay of Naples and on mountain roads between Sorrento and Amalfi.

The Capri's design will without doubt delight many potential buyers. It is also an easy car to handle. The floor change is first-rate. The fifty-horse-power 1.3-litre version is a little underpowered to rate as a sports model and the rigid rear axle makes its presence felt on poor roads. In wet weather the Capri understeers on corners too.

The 125-horse-power 2.3-litre version with a sharper chassis will be available this autumn. All versions have automatic choke, twelve-volt batteries, four-speed gearboxes (automatic transmission is an



Ford's new Capri sports model

(Photo: Ford)

optional extra), McPherson struts on the front wheels, longitudinal leaf springs at the rear, disc brakes in front and a smoothly-functioning rack and pinion gearbox.

Ford's latest venture represents a for-

ward market strategy. It is hoped to increase coupe sales on the Federal Republic market from the present 100,000 a year to at least 160,000 and maybe 200,000 per annum.

(Die Welt, 23 January 1969)

## More people fly Lufthansa

Lufthansa flew nearly five million passengers last year, seventeen per cent more than in 1967. Lufthansa passengers flew nearly 4,000 million miles in 1968.

The airline's fleet increased the distance its aircraft covered by ten per cent to seventy million miles but logged only two per cent more flying hours — 197,000 in all.

Lufthansa has accordingly been flying faster. This increase is due mainly to the introduction of the new Boeing 737, which last spring replaced the airline's last Convair Metropolitans.

(CHRIST UND WELT, 24 January 1969)

## PENAL DEVELOPMENT

## Doctors to be put in charge of prison

HAMBURG EXPERIMENTS WITH NEW IDEAS FOR JAIL

Has society still to come to terms with criminality? Must welfare and claims in civilisation throw in the towel when it comes to treating offenders unjustly? Newspapers are seldom without stories that spell out the virtual bankruptcy of the existing prison system, reports of sexual offenders who persist in offending and desperadoes who continually break out of jail.

Yet despite the hue and cry the prison system in this country is making steady and virtually unbroken progress towards revolutionary reform. The first 33 prisoners are shortly to move into a prison in Hamburg that will be unique. All decisions are to be taken by the medical staff.

This step forward is largely due to two men. The first is an unfortunate inmate of a Hamburg prison who was found beaten to death in a punishment cell known to prisoners as "The Bell." The repercussions of the Haase case decided Peter Schulz, Hamburg's young Senator of Justice, the second of the two men, to act.

It is not every day that the powers that be summon up the courage to draw the appropriate conclusions from a case that is the tip of an iceberg of backwardness.

It must be realised from the start that it is an expensive business to usher in a new era in prison reform. The experimental socio-therapeutic block in Hamburg-Bergedorf with its 33 selected inmates is going to cost an extra 350,000 Marks a year.

At 10,000 Marks a year extra per inmate the Bergedorf experiment represents an increase in the cost of upkeep per prisoner of 200 per cent over traditional methods.

In medical terms the new block will virtually be an extension of Hamburg's up-to-the-minute university psychiatric clinic. The psychiatrists think will supply the staff who are to run an entire prison for the first time ever in this country. But what do the medical men hope to achieve with this expenditure in terms of both cash and scientific knowledge?

"Let me start by saying that we have no intention of setting up a luxury clinic for criminals," Dr Krause, head surgeon of the university clinic and prospective medical supervisor of the special prison, has a comment well worth making.

So much potential penal reform has come to grief in this country because it has mistakenly been felt that it all amounted to little more than discarded luxury for prison inmates. It has taken decades of legal battles over recidivists, offenders who persist in their offences, before it was realised and acknowledged that conventional methods were ineffective with offenders of this kind and more attention was paid to psychiatry and psychology.

Judges in Denmark have long been duly bound by the legal codes they enforce in

decide in passing sentence whether an offender is to be sent to a normal prison or whether he is a case for special therapeutic treatment. They must, of course, decide on the basis of psychiatric advice.

Last year penal specialists from this country travelled to Denmark to see for themselves the famous special prisons of Høsten and Høstvedesøer. "The medical director of Høsten, Dr Sax," Dr Krause relates, "is of the opinion that criminal behaviour represents a psychic disturbance, a kind of neurosis that is due to basic features of character and childhood experiences and can be treated."

"The symptoms of this neurosis are anxiety, depression and feelings of inferiority that are compensated by aggressive, criminal behaviour. Psychotherapy and treatment with anti-depressives and tranquillisers appear promising."

The aim of treatment is to re-establish the prisoner's psychic balance, to bring him back to normal. The Danes accordingly take good care to ensure that a spell in a special prison cannot be interpreted as a more comfortable alternative to normal detention.

Conditions in a special prison are favourable for treatment but by no means

pleasant. Already, by the way, 75 per cent of first inmates appear to have been given successful treatment.

The first batch of inmates at Bergedorf are to be men who are already serving sentences for an offence for which they have spent time inside before. Nine of the men will be sexual offenders.

As a matter of principle the intake will be restricted to criminals whose tendency to backslide or whose psyche make it appear unlikely that conventional imprisonment will bring about any improvement. Conventional prisons will not be able to dump uncooperative inmates on the special prisons.

Witttenberg is trying out similar experiments and in the forthcoming legislative period the Bundesrat will be debating a penal reform Bill providing for special prisons of this kind all over the country. Expensive though this will be, it would probably be even more costly to leave things as they are.

(WELT am SONNTAG, 19 January 1969)

## The father of all airline stewardesses.



If Arthur Hofs is the father of 22,600 airline stewardesses, he must have set some kind of a world record. He did.

He was the first person — man or woman — to serve passengers on an airplane. The date was May 22, 1928. The airline was Lufthansa. And you know the result.

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And you don't have to fly without hearing those four famous words: "Coffee, tea or milk?"

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It doesn't mean we don't, either.

You be the judge.

 **Lufthansa**  
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## Over 1,000 sailors saved at sea

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(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 January 1969)

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SPORT

Possible political dilemmas at Munich Games

OLYMPICS WILL BRING PEOPLE FACE TO FACE WITH GERMAN QUESTION

Those who attended the Olympic games in Mexico in 1968, and those who are giving thought to the Munich Games in 1972 cannot exclude entirely political considerations from their thoughts. In this matter Bonn is concerned, among other things, with the Ulbricht regime.

In three years and seven months' time the capital of the Federal state of Bavaria is to host the twentieth summer Olympics. The Federal Republic, as successor on its own claim to the Third Reich, will be host to the world of sport. In addition the German Democratic Republic will appear for the first time at an international sports meeting with its own flag and with its own national anthem.

The conjunction of these two events are a fortunate coincidence for the national pride of the Ulbricht regime, but they cause grave discomfort to politicians in Bonn.

It will not be generally understood that the Games are not only an opportunity for this country to show its best but they are also a challenge in that teams from the German Democratic Republic will be encountered. Franz Josef Strauss is totally apprehensive about this challenge and cites Arnold Toynbee. To most people matters of defence strategy have nothing to do with it.

For this reason the unanswered German Question has been pushed into the foreground as a potential spoiler of the Games. Nevertheless, before the Games begin—in ancient Greece there was a four-year interval between each Games—hindrances appear on the sports horizon.

It is profitable to recall for a few minutes the events at Mexico and to question them. If the Munich Olympics were to take place in 1969 it would be very difficult to avoid a painful and blazing international scandal. For the time being the Federal Republic is not armed psychologically and politically for the challenge that thankfully is not to take place until 1972.

Since Mexico it must be obvious to all that when the sprinter runs past the tape, when the high jumper broke another world record and the marathon runner goes to greater heights of performance than these exciting achievements are not divorced from the protocols that surround the Olympic Games.

During the course of the Games there is a moment that will have a disturbing but fascinating effect on the public mind. I refer to the moment when the victors are honoured before the crowds. Just as at the opening and closing ceremony the idea of the nation is foremost when the victors receive their honours standing next to other sportsmen and women.

This will be no different in Munich to what it was in Mexico. It will seem like a play that pleases the eye and moves the heart.

At the end of a day's Games, after a harvest of records have been made when the stadium lights go up, there is the green grass and the flags of the nations of the world flying in the breeze, the bright uniforms of the sportsmen and women and of the Games' official. Then there is the hushed moment when the trumpets play a fanfare, just as when the performance is about to begin at the Wagner festival in Bayreuth, the victors mount the podium to receive their gold, silver and bronze medals, bend their heads to have the honours hung round their necks and a hand shake of congratulation, some weeping, some blinking under the lights and some laughing.

But the high-point of these events is really when the victor's national flag is run up the mast and his or her national anthem is played. There is then a feeling

of something special that overcomes everyone. It cannot be explained, this magical, almost theatrical moment. There is nothing in the Olympic protocols about it, but everyone stands up to do honour to the flag, the anthem and the victor. Hard-boiled journalists for whom the ceremony is just more copy cannot extract the telling point out of this moment. The little ceremony honouring the victors is as impressive as the victory itself.

There were several events in Mexico that were very memorable. When the Czech anthem was played because an unknown Czech girl had beaten the Russian favourite. The moment was not only a sports event but also a political happening. There was a sort of David and Goliath effect. The Czech girl felt doubly honoured for the ovation from the crowd was not only for her but also for her country for which she had won a gold.

time when the public of the whole world can be shown an attitude.

A certain political electricity runs through the Olympic Games. It is in the air and when the atmosphere is favourable the honouring ceremony exerts a supreme influence. Odd events that spoil things are not good enough reason to condemn the whole. The Games are not just political, although even to the Ancient Greeks this element crept into the event.

The Olympic spirit, invoked from time to time, remains abstract to this day. All the time it takes on different significances. The Games have come to mean to the host country prestige and a sort of respectability. The Games have become a time when youth can join together in comradeship, a cultural event but above all an arena for a demonstration of nationalism or national pride (and where

German Democratic Republic will display all its national emblems at the 1972 Games in Munich.

Taking Mexico as a guide-line it follows then that five times the black, red and gold flag without and nine times the black, red and gold flag with the hammer and sickle would go up the victor's mast. Five times the Federal Republic anthem would be played and nine times the anthem of the German Democratic Republic.

It follows from this that the crowds in the stadium, 80 per cent of them citizens of the Federal Republic, would stand to honour the victors, they would stand to honour what is known as 'the flag of division' and the anthem of the break-away part of the country as a whole.

For a number of years there have been diplomatic complications when the hammer and sickle flag has been hoisted at international industrial exhibitions. Now it is likely that something like 80,000 persons from the Federal Republic will be expected to stand in respect to this flag and that in Munich.

If the Games were to take place in 1969 there would be some dramatic problems. Would people leave the stadium when the German Democratic Republic flag was unfurled and the Ulbricht regime anthem was played? Or would people sing and boo and remain seated? What would Chancellor Kiesinger do if he were present in the Olympic baths and river from Leipzig won and the German Democratic Republic anthem was played? Would the German Communist Party and the Student Socialist League greet him with clenched fists? Would National Democrats sing traditional carnival songs. Would Bildzeitung run headlines suggesting that people should remain seated? Would Günter Grass rant with advice that people should stand?

A plot could be devised, perhaps, so that events which are likely to be won by contestants from the GDR could be marked with red for danger. Exclude left-wingers, right-wingers, students? How in the main-in-the-street going to react to these events?

Also what would the hundred thousand or so visitors from abroad do? At the Munich Olympics they would be confronted head on with the bewildering German Question. It is likely that again a David and Goliath effort would be achieved in which case who would be David?

In short an Olympic Games in Munich in 1969 would be unthinkable. Thanks can be given that before the Games in 1972 there is plenty of time to prepare for them. The Mayor of Munich, Hans-Joachim Vogel, was able to take advantage of events in Mexico and counter those that are likely to be embarrassing. He is anxious that the Games in Munich are without conflicts. That is a commendable ambition in a country where political differences are manifest like trip-wires all over the place.

On the other hand Bonn, that provides the money for the Games and in sport matters carries a weighty voice, does nothing to prepare people for what is undoubtedly unavoidable at the 1972 event. The administrative blocks all practical ways of reducing the possibility of an explosion over the all-German question.

Instead of allowing the number of sporting events at which the GDR emblem are shown to increase, so that the people in this country can get used to their appearance here, the Federal Cabinet takes the quite opposite course of action and decides that the GDR emblems can only be shown at the 1972 Olympic Games, not before and not after. Furthermore this decision is formulated in language that is vague and not entirely indisputable.

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Süddeutsche Zeitung

MÜNCHENER NEUERES NACHRICHTEN



At Mexico the Federal Republic flag and the flag for the German Democratic Republic - both black, red and gold with the Olympics emblem on them - were hoisted up the victors' mast. This may happen at Munich.

(Photo: Erich Baumann)

Another unforgettable moment was when the members of the American team demonstrated to the whole world that for them it was unbearable to be only second-class citizens in their own country. It was very impressive when Negro Tommy Smith and Negro John Carlos, winners of a gold and bronze in the 200 metres raised their black-gloved hands and bowed their heads when the Stars and Stripes was hoisted up the mast and the Star-spangled Banner was played.

Honouring the winners is not only to give praise to the people themselves but also involves the country they come from. Similarly it can be an act of abuse for the country they represent. It is a

are these limited?) without having to display one's weakness or things of that order.

De Gaulle said of the French participants at Grenoble: "The health of our sportsmen and women is a proof of our national well-being."

The two parts of Germany, East and West, won at Mexico 14 golds. The German Democratic Republic won nine of these and the Federal Republic five. Fourteen times the black, red and gold flag up the victor's mast, and fourteen times the united German team's anthem, "Joy, the divine spark" was played.

It is already taken for granted that the

Continued from page 14

it follows from this that in 1972 when the GDR flag and anthem are used at the Games, something of a sensation will be caused, because people will be so unused to it. For certain minority groups of our society it will be considered a provocation, as it is today. And people cannot be blamed for thinking so—after the right-wing provocations in the Federal Republic of the old Stahlhelm in the GDR.

Interior Minister Ernst Benda who is also vice-president of the organisational committee of the twentieth Olympic Games, has suggested that the Federal Republic should do all in its power to exclude 'nationalism' from the Games, so that flags and anthems be banned.

The idea is a good one but how would Olympic officials be able to prevent victors converting the honouring ceremony on the podium into an opportunity to make some kind of political demonstration? The whole Olympic aura is riddled with chauvinism. How would it be possible to take away the public's demonstration of approval which would undoubtedly be linked not only to a feat of sport but also to a political situation when so much of the ceremonial about the Games has a nationalistic taint to it.

No one could take objection to the idea of de-nationalizing the Games, giving the laurels not to a person as a representative of a state of nation but to the individual for his personal achievement, not to applaud an ideology but the man or woman who stands on the podium.

But Ernst Benda's hope is hardly realistic. After Mexico there is a powerful movement among many international Olympic Committee members to propose ideas of banning flags and anthems at the Games. So many developing countries, newly emerged onto the world stage, saw their flag hoisted at Mexico that a trend to oppose banning nations has definitely set in. There is another point that could be made on this matter. Bonn is really only concerned at not seeing no flag or hearing one anthem. The others are quite acceptable.

So it boils down to this—it is to be hoped that Bonn government will not for too long object to the display of the German Democratic Republic emblems in this country. The GDR national emblem might gain stronger acceptance and put the Federal Republic in a shade.

The lesson to be learned from the Mexico Games in 1968 was that nations from all over the world were able to influence their international image but to establish one.

A little before the Olympic Games opened the governing body of a student organisation, of which many were shot by police action, claimed that Mexico had been 'ruined' by the preparations for the Games. Avery Brundage and the other senior officials of the Games were cynically interested in ensuring that the Games went off without difficulty or incident. The cost to ordinary Mexicans could not be measured by European standards. The Games took place in a developing country. It was not known to the authorities that Mexico was more harmed by the officials' 'tolerance' than anything else.

The world's press was considerably influenced by the killings at Tlatelco. Little was reported about the Games and even less about the country. Remarks were made about the chaotic organisation, the accumulation for the participants as being miserable and Mexican mutants

as the worst in the world. Although many of these unfavourable views were true, the decisive one was on the last impression of bloody brutality. But then very soon the chaotic organisation was dismissed from the mind, the inhuman conditions for the participants forgotten and the triumphs of the motorists in Mexico did not seem so bad after all.

The victors won were not the only aspects that turned people's minds away from the darker side of things. Mexico itself managed to talk people round as it were. The colourful decorations everywhere, the vibrant rhythms of the music, the drama and friendliness of the Mexican people, the fiesta atmosphere worked their effects making Mexico the great victor of the Games not to mention the yield of golds that the Mexican team picked up.

The effects that Mexico had on visitors to the Games was not designed. The Mexicans retained their individuality and also their relationship with the idea of a nation, with a national character.

Nevertheless the bloody Civil War in 1910 does not give the country an entirely passive past. But Mexico is a country without enemies and there are no territorial claims against her and she makes no territorial claims against anyone else. Mexican folklore is admired throughout the world.

The Federal Republic also has many praiseworthy qualities, which we do not need to mention in detail here or compare with Mexico. The relationship to the idea of nationhood is not unbroken and the national character is no power on which one can blindly rely. We have to dispose of certain difficulties that have occurred in our past without being nostalgic about it. And we have enemies in certain.

In short Munich does not want to be the scene of a convulsive meeting of the Gans. If certain contentions were made public in our relations with the world, to whom we shall be loyal, are made difficult.

The Mexicans were able to overcome organisational difficulties without too much trouble. We are expected to be organisationally perfect. No one took offence at Mexico's loud expressions of nationalism. The Federal Republic would make a mistake in drawing too much an outline of our national feeling. When things became a little rough in Mexico the Mexicans quickly chased away hurt feelings and hard thoughts. In this country our folk music is so much older and would have little effect.

It all revolves round forgetting the diversity of our past and society. Water-proof swollen overcoats and groups of hippies. Much of Stühling and a little less of the beer cellar atmosphere. Certainly not to many police and military. Let us rather boast about our ancient attractions than the wonders of the underground. Let us talk of the attractiveness of our girls rather than the economic miracle. But trust in the friendliness of the people of Munich and the total architectural triumph of the Olympics building programme.

When it comes to a question of flags and anthems, hammers and sickles, let us de-nationalise the whole business so that 1972 is a success in the same way as the Olympic weeks in Mexico in 1968 will be remembered as the Games where tolerance and sporting spirit triumphed.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 January 1969)

More official aid to sport offered by Interior Minister

GREATER GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGEMENT REQUIRED



Cooperation and consultation between sports clubs and associations, as well as between the Federal government, states and local authorities is to be encouraged far more than it has in the past by the Federal Interior Ministry.

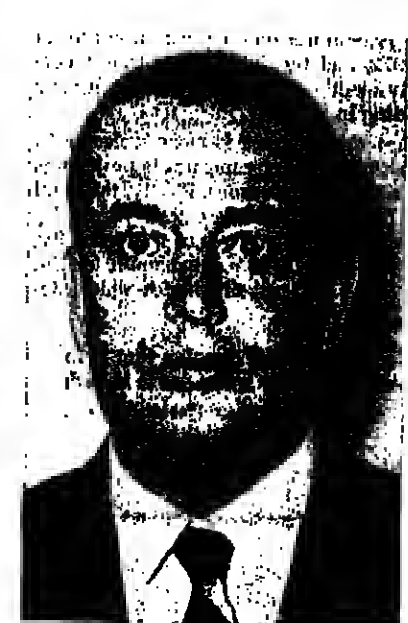
The Interior Minister, Ernst Benda, made this question of closer cooperation between various bodies concerned with sport in this country the subject of a speech he made to the interior committee of the Bundestag recently.

Speaking to members of the various political parties, senior officials of sport in the country as well as sportsmen and women who took part in the Mexico Olympics, the Minister said that in future he was anxious that measures to improve sport and sporting facilities should be taken as part of an over-all plan.

The Minister said that it was only possible to devise research and training programmes of routine application when long- and medium-term planning had been considered.

National sport on the model of Eastern Bloc countries was repudiated by Ernst Benda. He disputed that Eastern Bloc countries were more successful at finding talent when they began at the early stages of schooling than were Western nations which began talent-hunting at a much later date. He was of the opinion that the East Bloc way of doing things did not take into consideration sufficiently the personal rights of the child which was all important in this country.

Minister Benda went on to say that he hoped for a simple State financial responsibility in sports affairs. He hoped that the Federal government, the Federal states and local authorities as well as



Willi Daume (Photo: Nordbild)

sports clubs and associations could work together on this matter.

"Official pronouncements have already indicated that there will not be too much difficulty over money," Ernst Benda added.

Willi Daume, president of the Federal Republic Sports League (DSB) rejected after his return from the Mexico Olympic Games the reproach that sport in this country had been sleeping. "If we had been on the alert, there would perhaps not be such a thing as rebellious youth."

Willi Daume was defending the organisation that has done much for sport generally in this country. He pointed out that organisational improvements were being carried out on gymnastics and sports training. Obviously the government had to take part in ensuring that these improvements were real. The appointment of a sports inspector by the National Olympic Committee was a step in this direction.

The DSB president made a strong appeal for stronger official encouragement and for finances to help build training and performing centres.

(Handelsblatt, 24 January 1969)

Protection for iced pitches

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

UNABHÄNGIGE TÄGLICHE NACHRICHTEN

Berlin football club accountants are not the only ones who groan over the recent 'Ice Age' that has hit the country. All over the world there is discussion about what will cover pitches in the future during the depressing winter months which make play so difficult because of weather conditions.

Bundesliga Anlinn- und Sportplatz (BASF) has announced that it can offer footballers a way out of the problem. The firm has experimented with a kind of the Göttingen stadium, covering it with a synthetic floor.

After the opening game on the pitch in the summer of 1967 Dukla Prag players said: "It is the best field on which we have ever played. There was less danger of injury and the going did not make us feel so tired."

A spokesman for BASF said in Ludwigs-hafen that to protect pitches in this country from the devastations of snow and ice would not be too costly. It is estimated that construction costs for such synthetic protection would cost about 40 to 50 Marks per square yard.

This additional expense in a club's budget could be recovered over a few years by virtue of the fact that the pitch would not be thrown out of service due to inclement weather conditions, BASF experts argue.

(DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 21 January 1969)

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